20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken that it became necessary some decades ago to pass laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable. Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat.

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians because they have no water closets, which in Tonga are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

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[P.58-C]

[Caption is on P.59]

361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided into town allotments. A brother of one of the present title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahi, however, and already a number of town allotments are occupied by more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on the 'api, each household has a number of different-looking [342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising
343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the beito, an
351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet
[514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat
[515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure over a pit-latrine (fale mālōlō) and another enclosure, [513] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (fale kaukau). In some cases, there are other structures as well, providing additional sleeping space. And there may also be an enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs
351 are penned. Besides these structures, each 'api usually
[296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

cylindrical bits of ivory[1] about three inches long, introduc'd at one hole and brought out at the other, or bits of reed of the same size fill'd with a yellow pigment which seems to be a fine powder of turmeric, with which the women sometimes rub themselves all over in the same manner that our ladys use their dry rouge upon the cheeks. Nothing seems to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness, to procure which they frequently bathe in the ponds which seem to serve no other purpose. They prefer these to the sea, though most of them stink intolerably, because the water is a little fresher and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea they have commonly some Cocoa nut shells of fresher water pourd over them to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of Cocoa nut oil for the same reason, a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders but rub the body from head to foot briskly with a smaller quantity, and (unless to those who have seen this practice) it is not easy to conceive the different appearance and advantage they seem to receive from undergoing these different trimmings. This oil however is an article not to be procur'd by every one, and the inferior sort of people doubtless appear less smooth for want of that and more frequent shifting of their cloth, as it is no uncommon thing to see them wash the last though its texture would at first make us think that could not be done.

Their domestic life is of that middle kind which I believe the most sensible part of mankind always desire, which is to say it is neither so laborious as to be disagreeable nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country that the first can hardly occur and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. This happy combination of circumstances is such that their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to their recreations, in such a manner that the last are never interrupted by the thoughts of being oblig'd to recur to the first till satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the women is of the easy kind and for the most part such as may be done in the house. The manufacturing their cloth as already describ'd is wholly consign'd to their care, and next to that fabricating their matts seems to be of the greatest consequence. Of these they have seven or eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping on and many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the tough membranous part of the stock of the plantane tree, those they wear from the Pandanus, cultivated for that purpose and never

[1] Whale tooth.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Nomuka: margin of thicket along road encircling island between sea and inland lake, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15816.* 137

Lifuka: roadside ditch between Pangai village and southern end of island, Apr. 28, 1953, *Yuncker 15780.*

Vava'u: along road between Mataika and Feletoa, northwest of Neiafu, May 20, 1953, *Yuncker 16053.*

Occasional as a plantation and waste-area weed throughout Tonga. A tropical American plant now widespread in warm countries.

Tongan name: *te'ekosi totolo.*

Salvia coccinea Jussieu, Murray, Soc. Reg. Sci. Gott. Comm. 1: 86, 1778.

Freely branching, hairy herb, up to about 60 cm. tall. Leaves ovate, acute or obtuse, base truncate or subcordate, up to 5 cm. or more long, crenate-serrate, petioles rather slender. Flowers bright red or pink, corolla puberulent, about twice as long as calyx.

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

A tropical American species rather widespread as a weed in waste areas.

S. pseudo-coccinea Jacq. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: *te'ekosi.*

Genus Coleus Loureiro

Coleus amboinicus Loureiro, Fl. Cochinchinensis, 372, 1790.

Low, densely pubescent, aromatic herb. Leaves opposite, ovate, acute or obtusish, base cuneate, up to 12 cm. or more long and 9 cm. wide, coarsely toothed, finely pubescent on both sides, petiole up to 5 cm. or more long. Flowers pale lavender, on short, slender pedicels, in whorls in a terminal, interrupted, racemose cluster.

Tongatapu: garden, Nuku'alofa, 1926, *Setchell and Parks 15414;* in border of plantation near Nualei village, Mar. 9, 1953, *Yuncker 15232.*

Nomuka: sandy soil near sea below village, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15861.*

Lifuka: roadside north of Pangai village, May 10, 1953, *Yuncker 15797.*

Frequent as a waste-area and roadside weed throughout Tonga. From India and Malaya to Polynesia.

Tongan names: *pasiole, kaloni.*

The plants are extremely aromatic. The leaves are added to the water for washing clothes to perfume them and are used for scenting oil. [824] [296] [303]

Coleus blumei Bentham, Labiat. Gen. and Sp., 56, 1832.

Erect, tender, square-stemmed, brown-pubescent herb, up to about 1 m. tall. Leaves opposite, ovate, crenate, up to 15 cm. long, acute, often dark red above, red and green beneath, petioles long and slender. Flowers light blue, subsessile, in whorls on an elongated terminal spike.

Frequent as an ornamental about dwellings, in cemeteries, and so forth. Occasional specimens were noted as escapes along roadsides. An East Indian species now of worldwide cultivation. [824] [245] [351] [764]

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older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a vala, whereas nine (one older and eight younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

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In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full

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covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the

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small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports, and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

[824]
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136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)

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292 [824] [294]

137. This is plaited from bast of the Hibiscus tiliaceus, has long, pendant bast fibers and is entirely in natural color. See pp. 321/324 for method of production.

as well as the much-worn kie-kie lou fau. (138)

[824] [294]

138. A belt likewise plaited on Hibiscus tiliaceus bast, with long pendant bast fibers, but more artistic and dyed with European colors (for instance, crimson, purple, blue, pink, green, vermilion); also a variation called kie-kie Lopa decorated with red tree seeds (Adenathera pavonina). See p. 323-324 for method of production.

291 Tongan women still commonly go barefoot. Some wear sandals or white tennis shoes, more in the seaports, naturally, than on the small [177] islands. A few also struggle with European /55/ women's shoes. --Turbans made of undyed tapa (feta'aki) sometimes temporarily wound /around the head/ as a protection against the sun are reminiscent of similar head coverings of times past. (139)

139. Cf. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

292 177 297 [824] [294] Hats (tata lou 'akau) (140)

140. Cf. pp. 320-323.

plaited of leaf strips of pandanus (lou tofua and lou kie), which older women only wear for church and younger women and girls also on other festive occasions or merely as a sun shield on Sundays, go back to mission influence. (141)

141. The "sun hats" mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) were very probably different.

[994] They were introduced at that time by missionaries for women and girls who had made a confession, as a sign of their membership in the congregation.

294 296 178 Among the new tasks of sewing, washing and mending, (142)

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142. The former tapa clothing simply wore out and was replaced by new clothing.

the Tongan women have become most adept at sewing. In tailoring and sewing (especially with the help of hand sewing machines) they
296 achieve astonishing skill. In the task of laundering, the Polynesian feeling for cleanliness can fully unfold; often vala, shirts and dresses that have been worn only once disappear in the zinc tubs where, amidst a great expenditure of curd soap, without previous soaking, often only in lukewarm water, they are scrubbed clean on glass and zinc washboards, an abuse which most clothing can withstand for only a limited time. Most Tongan women seem to be on a war path with mending; for all too often the progressive deterioration of their albeit always clean clothing goes on unchecked, and the ragged thing is (tardily) replaced by something new--as was formerly the case with
(184) tapa. However, as has been mentioned, there is a difference to be noted between the small islands and the seaports; the clothing in the latter seems better cared for.

291 The European-Christian influence on children's clothing has
179 been less persistent. Referring to ancient Tongans, Mariner said that children up to about two years were unclothed in the house, (143)
(114)

143. J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 347; it is not clear whether this note applied only to the families of chiefs or to commoners as well.

and Dumont d'Urville reported that boys went about naked for a long time, though little girls were apt to be clothed, (144)

144. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

whereas in 1857 the Mission announced that "the youngest Christian child...(wore) white tapa around its hips." (145)

145. Geschichte der christlichen Missionen... /History of Christian Missions/ loc. cit. p. 41.

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291 Yet nowadays, on the small islands (as well as on the outskirts of the "chief city") one sees children (especially boys) run around naked up to about five years (in exceptional cases up to nine years) even /56/ on Sundays. The reason for this is the indifference and [296] convenience of the parents who, because of the rapid deterioration of fabrics resulting from improper treatment naturally find it very difficult always to dress their numerous children (as many as 12) "decently." As a rule, however, people make an effort to dress their [177] children in small vala or panties of European fabric, and if possible, [292] make small shirts for boys and little dresses for girls to wear on Sundays, often with the addition of small ta'o-vala for the boys.

291 Summarizing the change in Tongan clothing, we note primarily 177 the replacement of the tapa and a definitive acceptance of full 178 covering. Tongan women, when dyeing (koka'anga) the long lengths of [386] tapa, often wrap a piece of old tapa around their hips to protect their fabric clothing from color spatters. If they come as guests [574] to a festival they will sometimes wear, as a vala, the tapa they have [431] brought their hosts as a gift, and at many large dances (146) [535]

146. For example, the laka-laka, ula, ma'ulu'ulu and me'etu'upaki. For details see "Dances," p. 395 ff.

women and men (if they take part) still like to adorn themselves with tapa. Aside from that, however, tapa as clothing has disappeared from Tongan life. Moreover, in the villages and in public no Tongan man or woman may defy the general fashion of clothing the upper part of their bodies. Yet the change is not as complete as in other areas of Polynesia, for example on Tahiti. For most of the Tongan men and women still adhere to the form of the vala and wear the belt mats (ta'o-vala)--probably no less than in ancient Tonga. Footgear and headgear have not become common.

/56 cont./

291 177 178 Thus the field of clothing shows how old indigenous cultural assets and new imported ones exist side by side and in part have been blended to a unity that seems natural to the natives. The Tongans adopted the European fabrics because they are far more practical (washable and more durable) than tapa, because, with their printed patterns and the brilliant colors some of which they had never seen before, they seem desirable, and because they are products of Europe which they admire. Convenience was a lesser consideration, for the money for purchase of the fabrics must be earned, keeping them clean requires assiduous care, and the tapa continues to be laboriously made--for festivities, as sleeping mats, etc.--to such an extent that in most villages of Tonga, and even in the "chief city" of Nuku'alofa one can still hear the pounding of the tapa mallet almost every workday.

(296) (432) (287)

/57/ It is doubtful whether in future the vala will be replaced altogether by trousers and the short dress. Though for certain work, trousers are much more practical than the vala, yet the latter is easier to make, to put on and to clean, and above all more comfortable in the warm climate. To judge by the present state of affairs, the majority of Tongans will probably retain the vala. Certainly it will continue to exist in the exalted realm of solemn occasions and festivities--provided the Tongan government does not officially introduce a different development in the wake of special European-ization measures.

Adornment

301 198 The adornment of the Tongans has also undergone a change. Today the natives adorn themselves relatively little compared to the wealth of adornment mentioned in the old sources about Tonga. In the pre-Euopean and early European era there were necklaces of snail shells,

(237) (824)

416 /148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and
805 in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper
353 flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish
353 colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value." Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds
207 radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the difficulty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing them with dry cell batteries or accumulators. However, as a result of
404 the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely
177 used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type
296 machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one
411 sees heavy flat irons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs
178 and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household
179 equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees
415 an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the
177 dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.